

# Community

**"T**HERE HAS been little serious discussion of race relations at Negro colleges with mixed faculties," notes August Meier in a recent article in **Crisis**. And he proceeds to analyze the problems which often arise in southern Negro colleges with Negro-white faculties.

A teacher at Morgan State College in Baltimore, Dr. Meier draws on eight years experience at three Negro colleges, visits to several more, and "such relevant information as colleagues and others were generous enough to share with me." He is careful to point out that his conclusions are tentative and based on personal experiences at certain colleges at certain times. Also, he notes, there is good reason to believe that the situation at some schools has altered radically within a space of a few years.

#### Significant Study

In beginning, Dr. Meier cites a significant study by a "former faculty wife," published in **Social Forces** some years back. Definite cultural differences, this study insisted, caused the personal friction that is present at any college to follow roughly "racial lines." White couples, the author noted, tended to be the "Quaker work-camp variety of liberal," opposed to fraternities, "pacifists, cooperators, folk-dancing enthusiasts, committed to internationalism and interracialism . . . advocates of the simple life and religion." On the other hand, the Negro couples, she reported, were usually "deeply involved in fraternity life, tended to more conspicuous consumption, were Christians but relatively indifferent to religious matters, were not pacifists, were not particularly interested in social issues other than the race problem."

In other words, except on the racial issue, the Negro teachers had more in common with typical middle class white attitudes, against whose values the white teachers were actually in rebellion. Since values were not shared, she concluded: "the result is that when people really want to enjoy themselves, they do it in segregated social life, in this haven of interracial concord."

With this as a prologue, Dr. Meier launches into a reporting of things that he has found. At a leading liberal arts college in the lower Mississippi Valley, "I was," he states, "according to one of my Negro colleagues, perhaps the best integrated white member of the faculty. In spite of the college's ideological patter of racial equality and human brotherhood, some of the white faculty, motivated by a 'missionary spirit' were essentially paternalistic." By missionary spirit, he points out, he means the old-fashioned, "do-gooder" attitude characterized by the idea of doing things for a degraded people rather than working with individuals on a democratic level. One white teacher, for example, admitted serving at the college because of a guilt complex concerning her attitude toward Negroes. There was a sort of "martyr complex" too, held by both Negroes and whites that the white faculty were to be praised and thanked for the great "sacrifice" they were making, rather than to be evaluated and accepted as individual personalities.

## Faculty Integration At Negro Colleges

*Education*

**". . . the intense consciousness of race, even when there is no hostility, is obvious. It remains long after there are relatively deep social relationships . . ."**

#### Religious Tradition

The religious tradition, Dr. Meier is quick to concede, has made notable contributions and has produced some remarkable individuals. But far more common than the latter, he feels, are the "paternalistic white presidents and the condescending white faculties." He tells of the wife of one faculty member who told a Negro faculty member he was such a fine person that it was too bad he was colored—and of the teacher who told a student who did not rise when she entered the room in which he was working that "a polite white boy" would have stood up when she came in.

Some of the faculty were mildly and unconsciously prejudiced, referring to Negroes as "your people" or "their people." Others seemed obsessed with the idea that Negroes generally would not associate with them, and desired their removal from the faculty.

Such attitudes, of course, could do nothing to undo the hostilities and resentments Negroes gain in our society. So there was the other side of the picture. Some Negro faculty members actually would have preferred having no white teachers at the college, and they sometimes reflected this in their actions. On one occasion, for example, all the children of the Negro faculty were invited to a party, leaving out the two white children on the campus, who played daily with the other children. Some Negroes and whites did enjoy wholesome social relationships with each other. But to the extent that there were social cliques, they tended to a remarkable extent to follow racial lines.

#### Extreme Reality

An extreme perhaps but nevertheless a reality is a noted industrial school which Dr. Meier visited. Here a favorite phrase was "We have no problem." Agitation against disenfran-

chisement and segregation was opposed, because, as their founder had held, "Negroes were not ready for integration." Newer white faculty members tended to be more liberal, but most of them either conformed to the pattern set by the dominant white element, or resigned after a year or so.

Far more cosmopolitan is an Upper South university where the motivations prompting white teachers to teach there were more varied. There were a few old-fashioned missionary-spirited, like the teacher who came to the school many years before to prepare for missionary work in Asia, only to find "there was plenty of missionary work to be done right here." Then there was, as Dr. Meier calls them, the latter-day missionary type, epitomized by the young faculty wife who told him that, because whites had made Negroes suffer for so long, white faculty members should willingly accept unfair actions from colleagues as long as they were Negroes. There were what appeared to be Communists or fellow-travelers who, in spite of their work against discrimination, seemed to be disliked by most of their colleagues, white and Negro. There were secular liberals, and there was a sizable group who came because the school was highly rated.

#### Social Cliques

Yet here too, like the other two schools, social clique lines followed racial lines. And this pattern seemed to be increasing as more and more white faculty members bought homes in town rather than living on campus.

It was common for Negro faculty members to accept dinner invitations to the homes of white faculty members without returning the invitation. The Faculty Club was split between those who wanted card games, formal dinners and dances and those who wanted more informal or cultural entertainment—and the division fell pretty much

(Continued on page seven)



The South

# Justice in Bessemer, Alabama

SOUTHERN Justice was again dosed out in typical form to a Negro. Asbury Howard of Bessemer, Alabama, ordered a poster depicting a Negro with up-turned eyes and hand-cuffed. It was titled, "Hands That Can Still Pray" and was intended for the hall of the all-Negro Bessemer Voters League.

The poster was never posted. It was snatched from the workbench of the white poster-maker by the Sheriff. Howard has been fined \$105.00 and is serving a jail sentence of six months on an Alabama road-gang (sometimes called a chain gang). He was convicted of creating a sign "prejudicial to good order."

As Asbury Howard left the court house, he was attacked by some men out of the group of 40 that stood waiting for him. His son, who tried to rescue him, was arrested on a disorderly conduct charge and sentenced to one year at hard labor. The white sign painter is also in jail.

Actually the sentence was not received because of the sign. Howard had committed a much bigger crime. As head of the Bessemer Voters League, he had been very active in increasing the Negro voter registration from 75 to 2,000. He did this by instructing its members how to answer questions of the Board of Registers. (The Questions appear after this editorial. We challenge our readers to answer all of them).

Sometimes, we Northerners are accused of being unsympathetic with Southern customs and traditions. We are accused of failing to understand the Southern frame of mind. In this case, we gladly welcome such accusations.

If a great democracy is to accept passively such ridiculous shenanigans, it cannot long continue. When local customs and feelings, dating back to pre-Civil War days, prevail as justice, how long can we continue to talk about democracy "with liberty and justice for all."

This particular case mocks justice. We hope that the Alabama Supreme Court will consider and reverse it. In the meantime, we hope this case will bring more and more Americans to understand some Southern customs and traditions.

—EJB

(These are the questions asked by the Bessemer Board of Registers):

How many Senators do we have in the United States Senate? How long do they serve? How old must a Senator be to serve?

How many Congressmen are there in the House of Representatives? How long do they serve? How old must a Representative be? What are his qualifications?

How many members are there of the Electoral College?

How many people serve on the United States Government payroll?

Who is the Secretary of State of Alabama?

How many Senators are there in the State Legislature in Montgomery? Name the Senator who represents the people of Jefferson County. How long is his term of office?

How many Representatives are there in the State Legislature? Name the seven from Jefferson County.

What is a felony? What is a misdemeanor?

Who is Sheriff of Jefferson County? Name the members of the Board of Registrars for Jefferson County. Are they elected or appointed? By whom?

Who is the Probate Judge of Jefferson County? Who is our County Solicitor? Name the Commissioners of Jefferson County.

Who is the Tax Collector of Jefferson



HANDS THAT CAN STILL PRAY

County? Who is the Tax Assessor?

Who is Chief Deputy in charge of Bessemer Cut-Off? Who is Deputy Probate Judge? Who are the Circuit Judges of Bessemer? Who is the Civil and Criminal Judge? Who is Solicitor in Bessemer Cut-off?

What form of government does Bessemer have? Name the Commissioners, their titles and their terms of office. Who is City Recorder? Who is City Attorney?

What form of Government does Birmingham have? Name the Commissioners and their titles. Who is Chief of Police? Name the Circuit County Judges sitting in Birmingham. Who is Judge of the Court of Misdemeanors and Felonies?

## Action Needed

ILLINOIS needs a bill forming an equal job opportunities commission. Such a bill, House Bill 495, has been proposed in the Illinois Legislature and should be passed. Elsewhere in this issue, Mary Clinch, reports on the specific contents of the bill.

We would like to urge all of COMMUNITY's friends and readers to write their legislators, especially their State Senators, and to voice their sentiments for the legislation. State Senators will receive their mail if it is addressed care of State Senate, Springfield, Illinois.

If individuals or organizations are planning to do more than write letters, or would like to do more than write letters, we suggest that they contact the Illinois Committee for Equal Job Opportunities, 28 East Jackson Street, Chicago 4, Illinois. They will welcome your assistance.

—EJB

## READERS WRITE:

### Finds Article Helpful For Debt Counseling

Dear Editors:

Sometime ago, I had an opportunity to read a copy of your December, 1958, issue of COMMUNITY, in which an article entitled "Jose Buys Now, Then Pays and Pays" was published.

I have perused the contents of this article and come to the conclusion that they would be very beneficial to me in connection with debt counseling work done with the University's employees.

May I have your permission to reproduce this article with the University's printing facilities, for use only as stated above.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am,  
Very truly yours,

GEORGE H. ADAMS  
Personnel Officer  
University of Illinois

## The Mask

THIS sullied mask, unfit for worthwhile use,  
Stirs thoughts of that dark night when any tree  
Might bear the flower of death, the hangman's noose.  
But shall the South, thus masked from infancy,  
Continue blindly on its way, be lured  
By melodies played out of tune? How long  
Shall cries for harmony remain unheard,  
And circled paths confuse the happy throng?  
What clouds the mind that sees but half the truth,  
That sees the white man clothed in dignity,  
The black in infamy. How many youth,  
So early steeped with thoughts of enmity,  
Shall never see implied in Christ's commands—  
That in that darkened skin His image stands.

—Donald E. Nicodemus  
Shreveport, Louisiana

## Views

WILMINGTON, Delaware—The first Negro family in an all-white area has decided to move out. George Rayfield will quit his \$12,000 home because of harassment by racial demonstrations and by plaguing of his business.

According to Rayfield, his garbage disposal business has been steadily declining since he moved into the suburban housing development on February 23. He said his white customers hired other truckers to remove their garbage after learning he had moved into an all-white community.

The day Rayfield moved into the home firecrackers were exploded and rocks were thrown at the home. A picket line has paraded almost every night outside the home of the realtor who sold the home to Rayfield.

WILMINGTON, Delaware—Prayers of easing a tense racial situation in a suburban housing development have been offered in a nearby Catholic Church.

The action was prompted by demonstrations in the Collins Park subdivision where a Negro family purchased a home.

Before leading his congregation in prayer, Father Thomas J. Reese stated, "Events of the past are a sad commentary on the failure of some people to keep the Word of God."

TOLEDO, Ohio—Bishop George J. Rehring urged the formation of study groups to tackle the problem of changing neighborhoods.

Speaking before a local parish Communion Breakfast, Bishop Rehring said northerners are living in glass houses and therefore should not regard the South alone as guilty of sinning against the Negro.

He continued, "We have a problem of our own . . . I think it's principally in the field of housing."

Bishop Rehring said that a true solution should be sought by study groups which pool information and thinking. He added that such a solution, satisfactory to all parties, has not been found.

Negroes are as anxious to avoid trouble as whites but their patience may give out. "Right now," he stated, "the problem isn't acute, but it may become so at any time."

HAVELOCK, North Carolina—A Catholic parish here, which has been fighting segregated scouting activities for over a year, has withdrawn from activities of a regional Boy Scouts of America Council. Father Frank J. Howard, pastor of Annunciation parish, wrote to the regional Council stating, "if we had known that you were set up on a segregated basis, we would never have sponsored a troop in the first place."

The trouble began when the parish's troop was scheduled to take part in a regional outing. When the Council learned that a Negro boy was a member of the troop, parish officials were informed that the Negro boy would

not be welcomed. Father Howard was then informed that the regional Council was a segregated organization and that anyone who accepted its charter, had to accept and abide by its bylaws.

LUSKA, Northern Rhodesia—Violence has marked the recent elections in Northern Rhodesia. Returns showed a victory for the right-wing United Federal Party, which favors a demand for dominion status for Great Britain's Central African Federation, which is composed of Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia. Most Africans are against dominion status because they believe such a government would be dominated by white settlers, and that permanent racial discrimination, as in South Africa, would result.

—Jean Hess

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Legislature Should Act Now

Employment

# Illinois Needs 'Equal Job Opportunities' Law

"... the Bill would outlaw, discriminatory hiring based solely on race, color, religion, national origin, ancestry and age . . ."

THE ECONOMIC status of Chicago area Negroes appears to have declined in recent years in spite of some voluntary efforts to increase employment on a merit only basis. Although they comprise about 12 per cent of the local labor force, the Chicago Urban League estimated in March, 1958 that 45 per cent of the unemployed were Negro, based on a League study of claimants in Unemployment Compensation offices. In a similar study in 1950 Negroes were estimated to be only 30 per cent of the Chicago unemployed.

A proposed Equal Job Opportunities Commission law, House Bill 495, has been introduced in the Illinois General Assembly to help remedy this injustice. The bill would outlaw discriminatory hiring based solely on race, color, religion, national origin, ancestry and age—when age has no relationship to ability to do the job in question.

Employers of 25 or more persons, public and private employment agencies and labor unions would be covered by the law. Non-profit organizations and employers of farm or domestic workers would be exempt.

## Bi-Partisan Bill

The EJO law would be administered by a bi-partisan Equal Job Opportunity Commission of five members to be appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate. The commission would serve without pay but would receive expenses from \$50,000 appropriated for the coming two years.

Thirteen states have experience with this type of legislation, usually known as Fair Employment Practice Commis-

sion Acts. Supporters of the EJO for Illinois feel that the history of the commission method in these states proves its worth and workability.

The state commissions receive complaints filed by persons who believe they have been discriminated against on the basis of race, nationality or religion and—in four states—of age. These complaints may relate to hiring, firing or upgrading practices and may be brought against employers, employment agencies or unions, who are called respondents.

## Investigation First

Once a complaint is filed commission representatives investigate to determine whether "probable cause" exists for the complaint. If probable cause is found the commission representative arrange a conference with the respondent.

The record shows that an overwhelming number of respondents take conciliatory attitudes once the give-and-take of the conference gets underway. As their fears are allayed employers are persuaded to take some step toward employing qualified members of minority groups on a merit basis.

In the rare instances when conference and conciliation methods fail, the commission holds a public hearing. However, a commission member, who investigated the complaint is disqualified from hearing evidence on complaints for which he found probable cause.

## Hears Facts, Judges

If the commission, upon hearing the evidence, finds the employer, agency

Both employers and employees benefit from Equal Job Opportunities Legislation.



or union guilty of an unfair employment practice, it orders this respondent to cease and desist. Only if this order is violated does the commission have recourse to the courts.

Opponents of EJO fear that the legislation will cost them much time and money in defending themselves against complaints. The experience of the state commissions, under which 61 million Americans now live, indicates that these fears are unjustified.

Since 1945 when New York passed the first merit employment act, its SCAD (State Commission Against Discrimination) has received 4,500 complaints. In only about one fourth of these complaints has SCAD found probable cause. And only a handful of cases have reached the public hearing or trial stage.

## Dire Fears Allayed

Elmer Carter, one of SCAD's five commissioners since its establishment, said in a 1957 address to a group of California employers:

"The dire and forbidding prophecies of the consequences of the enactment (of the New York State law against discrimination) have not been realized. New York has not witnessed any hegira of industries because of the law. The law has not provoked racial strife in shop, factory, banking or financial institution, engineering firm, or public utility because of the introduction of Negro personnel. The freely predicted resentment of white employees, if it existed . . . has never found expression in any significant manner."

An example of changes in the banking industry since SCAD's inception is the Corn Exchange Bank which has 74 branch offices. In 1947 this firm employed only 24 Negro clerical workers, 20 being located in the Harlem branch. By 1956 over 300 Negroes were employed by this bank as IBM operators, tellers, bookkeepers, stenographers and branch managers. And half of the branch managers were outside Negro neighborhoods.

## Educational Program

The EJO bill provides, as all merit employment laws do, that the commission carry on an educational program to help eliminate discriminatory employment. Once it becomes known that the commission offers this kind of assistance to companies, unions and workers, the help of the commission is sought voluntarily by these groups when integration problems arise.

In one state an employer who had refused to hire a Negro engineer appealed to the commission to help him eliminate discriminatory attitudes in the supervisory staff and thus permit his company to utilize the much needed skills of Negro engineers.

In another state skilled Negro workers could not be employed in their trade

because employers believed the union would not accept them and the union officials believed that employers would not accept them. The impasse was ended when the commission brought union and employer representatives together and thereby relieved a skill shortage.

## Aids Employers

Advocates of EJO feel that only such typical methods of state commissions can give employers and employees the assistance they need to solve merit employment problems. These examples indicate that EJO is not intended, in fact cannot, replace good will and voluntary means to fair employment, but is a necessary supplement to them.

EJO advocates know that H. B. 495 also contains some serious weaknesses. It does not prohibit discriminatory advertising for example. Its \$50,000 appropriation is woefully inadequate as compared with New York's \$300,000 in 1945. The Illinois Commission will not be able to accomplish much during its first two years of life, but it can at least begin to work toward just employment practices.

The age discrimination provision will be harder to enforce than the minority group provisions. Only four states have age provisions as recent amendments to their fair employment laws and experience in this field is therefore limited.

## Age Law

But there can be no doubt that discrimination based on age is a serious social problem due to our changing population structure. Between 1900 and 1955 the United States population doubled but the 45 to 64 year old age group tripled. Employment practices have not kept pace with this change; age restrictions have in fact stiffened during this period.

At this writing H. B. 495 is expected to pass in the Illinois House of Representatives. Supporters anticipate a struggle for the EJO bill's life when it goes to the Senate. Strong opposition is expected from the Republican Senate majority in spite of Republican Governor William G. Stratton's warm support of the bill.

Thirty Senate votes will be necessary to pass the EJO bill. Twenty two Democrats are expected to vote for it, leaving the fate of merit employment legislation in Illinois in the hands of eight Republican State Senators.

Illinois readers of **COMMUNITY** who may wish to participate in the campaign for passage of the EJO bill, as individuals or through their organizations, are urged to channel their efforts through the Illinois Committee for Equal Job Opportunities. This will prevent duplication of effort and faulty timing of action. Committee representatives should be contacted during the month of May, if possible, at 28 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4, Illinois, Room 322, HARRISON 7-5316.

—Mary Clinch



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(Elroy Davis)

**"The area of membership integration . . . is important as an exemplification of Christian belief and dogma . . ."**

ON THE subject of racial integration in the sisterhoods of the United States there exists only the most meager literature, namely a single article-report by the writer and various brief compilations of the names of sisterhoods having favorable views on the subject.

What is the value and import of these surveys, one may ask, in a field hitherto untouched? It was felt that the social composition and role of the sisterhoods could best be studied and their vital importance be best seen in a consideration of the influence of racial attitudes on their own ideology, membership, and functions. It was further assumed that the admission policy would symbolize and concretize the attitude of each community on racial matters.

The statistical basis of these ruminations is some data collected in 1951, 1954, and 1957 through three questionnaire surveys of the policy of the United States sisterhoods on the admission of qualified Negro girls. Specific information was sought on the membership size, location, origin and type of community, occupation, time and circumstance of formation of policy, number of Negroes admitted and their present status.

While consistently there has been a progressive increase in favorable attitudes toward admission of qualified Negro girls in all geographical (census) areas, ranging from 28 per cent in the first universe to 46.2 per cent in the latest survey and largest universe (632), the fact that this appreciable change in attitude and policy does not seem to justify the 31.9 per cent ("no reply") who either refused to give information or the 21.5 per cent ("doubtful," "no" and "unsettled") who maintained non-favorable attitudes and policies would indicate a certain massive resistance to change in a basic social attitude among a large and very important segment of modern American Catholic life.

This resistance and the inconsistencies related to it, the varying circumstances of the formation or lack of formation of policy, the presence or absence of prejudice and the consequences within and without the community, the tranquillity that accompanies social change and various other items may well illustrate certain anthropological implications in this matter.

#### Origin and Composition

How are such groups composed? They are not blood-related groups or natural demographic growths. They are, rather, artificial, freely entered or

voluntary associations of female members, with a single training-house and a single occupation or several related occupations, speaking a common language, and generally coming from a common cultural area. Organizationally, such a group may extend over several continents, with various administrative subdivisions usually termed "provinces." It is the "province" which normally sets its own policies on admission, so far as they are not determined by the highest superiors, through the deliberations of a council of members selected by the rank-and-files, although in many cases the highest superior seems to have assumed or received power to handle such matters. Physically, a "province" may take in the whole of the continental United States or only several states, while its equivalent in some organizations is the autonomous "monastery," composed usually of about 20 to 40 cloistered contemplative nuns. In this study such small autonomous groups are equated with larger units or separate provinces.

Far be it from us to hint that all such religious groups constitute samples of a closed, primitive society, that each is alone, independent, and provident of all its simple needs. Today in the United States no group could remain isolated entirely in its social functioning, yet it seems clear that on the plane of intellectual contact there is a quasi-isolationism among these groups, particularly as far as race is concerned. Many cling to their traditional notions, "spirit," and ideology—as given in written rules and directives from the past—but many have discovered that these original notions have had to be modified by new values introduced by various extraneous factors such as new superiors, new occupations, new settlements, and other changing circumstances. A growing awareness of race as a public issue worthy of headlines in domestic and foreign publications has apparently led to the increasing adoption of a positive policy, although for a greater number race still presents an almost insurmountable obstacle not foreseen in the traditional concept and ideal.

#### Cultural and Associational Features

Contact with neighbors of the same genus or "outsiders" is certainly a cultural influence. The degree of contact and the type of persons involved in such contact will both be found to affect the attitudes of the group. Thus the pre-entrance training of members and their occupation, which serve to furnish the maximum of contact and association with new ideas and other values, will be most important in so-

*Parochial Life*

# Racial Integration In U. S. Sisterhoods

**" . . . there has been a progressive increase in favorable admission of qualified Negro girls in all geographical areas . . ."**

cial change. Again the influence of the occupation will vary according to locale: teachers in the South, for instance, may be less receptive to change or more conservative than teachers in the Midwest.

The closed society's characteristics turn up in these women's groups, as well as the characteristics of urban societies, reflecting the range from which candidates may be drawn. These features are further complicated by reason of the anachronistic notes which they may bear. There are, of course, certain features common to all societies: family symbolism, age-group differences, division of labor, economies, various stresses on religious concepts and religious practices, and so on. In some the older characteristics predominate; in others the older anachronistic features and traits have slowly submerged or are now hardly noticeable while more "urban" or "civilized" characteristics have a growing role. To name only a few of the latter, and to suggest that all groups have not utilized or adopted these special "civilized" characteristics: a thorough study of dogmatic theology, a sense of special destiny, a sense of ecumenical religion, a systematic reflective self-evaluation, reform as a deliberately adopted program. Some groups indeed seem to have assumed none or almost none of these "civilized" features, such as the group which stated it "followed in race the policies of St. Paul" but did not specify any category; when later asked what it considered the policy of St.

watches a rather current movie; it subscribes to current periodicals and hears requests from a world-wide religious ruler to "modernize."

Or the congregation may be taken as an assemblage of folk societies almost impervious to change: its various grades of membership (aspirant, postulant, novice, professed), its occupational categories (lay-sister, choir-sister, teacher, administrator, nurse, contemplative, etc.), its various smaller personal, moral, and caste worlds called cliques. These types and relations are ever present and therefore deserve consideration.

#### Growth and Recruitment

How does a newcomer from the other social climates approach, enter, and accommodate to this artificial society? Obviously, the Negro newcomer encounters a whole set of attitudes, relationships, and activities which have not existed in the minority frame of reference.

The observer would expect that some transmutation would take place, and so it does, for the United States sisterhoods have accepted Negro girls as 80 professed, 47 novices, 27 postulants, and 14 aspirants as of December 23, 1957. Instead of being uprooted and more or less "marginal," these accepted persons have conformed to the requirements of the new type of life, so much so that nearly all respondents felt that their adaptation was excellent. While many of their race in the minority world may be dislocated, unattached, and disturbed, these are untroubled and well-adjusted members of the whole.

Many of these applicants come apparently through contact with older members of the sisterhoods, perhaps as a consequence of admission of Negro students to a formerly segregated school. In fact, a reason frequently given for an "unsettled" or "unfavorable" policy is that the community has no schools for colored children.

#### Variations in Size and Region

By region, the favorable percentages range from 28.8 in the West South Central states to 56.9 in the West North Central states. See Table I for the complete distribution.

As the size of the province or independent unit increases, there seems to be a greater percentage of favorable policies. The lowest rate is among the 51-100 membership (32.8 per cent) while the highest is in the 1,001-2,200 category (74.7).

Although 37.7 per cent of the 114 superiors in the three Southern regions did not give any data, more than half the respondents in the South (36 in 71) are now following a favorable policy, however, with 10 Negro members. The great bulk (30) of the units with favorable policy in the South are in the smallest and very small categories (under 300 members). Here again change to favorable policies has been accomplished without fanfare, but with firmness, by power factors which evidently have grown in force since 1951 at a rate higher than elsewhere in the nation, and have almost doubled the rate since 1954. The high rate of change in



Paul to be, the group refused to reply and finally admitted that its admission policy was "unsettled."

#### Two Aspects

Thus these congregations can be considered under two aspects. They may be seen as a complex of necessary ecological, economic, material relationships (rather an unusual and neglected aspect). Each congregation formally reflects the largest social community around it, or more usually the larger whole of some decades ago; yet it is forced today to deal according to current custom with suppliers of food staples and other commodities; it must contact medical practitioners of today; its members will sometimes utilize even airplane travel; it often possesses and uses radio, telephone, television, and phonographic sets; it occasionally



# ration erhood

in favorable attitudes towards  
geographical areas . . . "

the Southern regions and the prevalence of change among the smallest communities seems to indicate that a group long impervious to social change, even bound by its formality and expressed code of living, not to mention the so-called "popular feeling" of Southern whites, can undergo the influence of certain factors of social change. The nature, source, operation, and effectiveness of such factors need to be investigated. It may be conjectured even now that an effective change in admission policy is much easier even for small groups than is generally suspected, especially by superiors who plead "smallness of our community" as a reason for not considering the question.

According to superiors generally, the admission policy change has been in many cases dependent upon the **actual application** for entry by a Negro girl. Yet quite often the change has occurred definitely **without** a single application and therefore **before** an application was received. On the other hand, many of the 113 "unsettled" replies give as their rationalization the fact that no Negro applicant has yet come forward. Again, despite the appearance of a Negro applicant, some of the "unsettled" and the "doubtful" and a few of the unfavorable replies had failed to formulate a policy. This is evidence of a variation in the power structure which deserves special and deeper study.

## No Common Attitude

We have found so great a discrepancy in attitude on race among the larger universe, and more so among autonomous units of single, large organizations covering different areas and multiple occupations, that it is clear there is no common attitude shared by religious women as part of their special culture. Favorable admission policies are more general in several regions and may be growing elsewhere but they are far from common. On the other hand, at the same time definitely unfavorable policies are decreasing. The evidence is clear that in both integrationist and segregationist groups there is a certain member-core strong enough to change or to maintain a policy effectively. Therefore, it is difficult to categorize the universe and its constituent regions according to favorability or unfavorability, because of so much divergence and inconsistency.

Finally, in the light of the 46.2 per cent favorability, it must be inferred from these surveys that the collective attitude of the American sisterhoods on their own racial integration has long been rather "stand-off" but is changing steadily and even more rapidly as its social and moral significance dawns. The area of membership integration, because it is important as an exemplification of Christian belief and dogma, could stir interest in further social change by raising some special questions: Why has the matter of race remained a stumbling block in religious living, a type of life which is frequently singled out by Popes and prelates and is set apart by the Church as proper for those seeking religious perfection, that is, the fullest application and exemplification of the noblest religious ideals? How incomplete does this "stumbling block" render the effort to live religious life?

The prospect, however, is promising. Particularly as Negro girls apply for admission and seem to fit well into the framework of contemporary religious life.

—Raymond Bernard, S.J.

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TABLE I

Distribution of Policy on Admission of Negro Girls to United States Sisterhoods, by Census Regions (December 1957)

Region	Favorable	Un-favorable	Doubtful	Unsettled	No Reply
Pacific	28	0	1	3	25
Mountain	7	0	0	1	6
West North Central	41	1	0	15	15
West South Central	15	6	1	13	17
East North Central	72	2	2	19	44
East South Central	9	0	1	4	4
New England	29	1	0	18	21
Middle Atlantic	77	5	1	32	48
South Atlantic	12	1	1	8	22
Total	290	16	7	113	202

TABLE II

Size of Province in Relation to Policy on Admission of Negro Girls, December 1957

Number of Members	Favorable	Un-favorable	Doubtful	Unsettled	No Reply
50 and under	89	3	3	25	103
50-100	21	0	0	18	25
101-200	48	3	1	18	24
201-300	22	3	1	15	8
301-400	29	1	0	10	9
401-500	22	0	1	10	11
501-600	15	0	0	2	5
601-1000	24	4	1	12	12
1001-2200	20	2	0	3	2
Over 2200	0	0	0	0	3
Total	290	16	7	113	202

## Northern, Southern Lawyers: Is '54 Court Decision Valid?

*Civil Rights*

Yes! Constitution Is Living Not Moribund;  
No! Too Much Reliance on Sociologists

A SOUTHERN lawyer debated a Northern lawyer in Milwaukee, Wisconsin recently on the validity of the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings of 1954 and 1955.

Mr. Charles J. Bloch, an attorney in Macon, Georgia, editor of the *Georgia Bar Journal*, and vice president of the Georgia States' Rights Council, accused the Court of grievous legal error. Mr. Philip B. Kurland, professor of law at the University of Chicago Law School, held that the Supreme Court discharged its function of interpreting the Constitution, which he characterized as a "living, not a moribund document."

Mr. Bloch claimed that the 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* of Topeka, Kansas, and three companion cases,

(1) repudiated the intent of those states which ratified the 14th Amendment in 1868;

(2) ignored many cases that established judicial precedent supporting the "separate but equal" doctrine;

(3) substituted the authority of psychologists and sociologists for that of jurists, and

(4) jeopardized the protections of freedom of speech, freedom of worship, and trial by jury.

### Historical Support

History shows he stated, that even Northern states like Massachusetts, Ohio, and Indiana, realized the ratification of the 14th Amendment did not prohibit segregation in the schools. He cited Charles Sumner as a leader of the period who agreed with segregation.

Mr. Bloch also said that several court decisions in various states support the "separate but equal" doctrine. He contended that the Supreme Court itself in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the 1896 case, upheld the legality of separate but equal facilities. He further stated that Chief Justice Taft himself alluded to state cases supporting segregation, in his opinion in *Gong Lum v. Rice*. In that 1927 case the Court held that a Chinese child in Mississippi was properly classified as "colored" and assigned to a Negro school.

The 1954 decision itself, Mr. Bloch insisted, placed too much reliance on the writings of psychologists and sociologists (including Gunnar Myrdal), and not enough on the analysis of jurists. He maintained that the sociological problem is one for each state legislature to solve.

### Jeopardy by Nine

He concluded with some feeling, that nine men had placed in jeopardy individual freedoms guaranteed by the first and other Amendments because they so unreasonably destroyed the state's powers under the 10th Amendment.

Mr. Kurland reached the conclusion that the Supreme Court courageously interpreted the Constitution for the realities of our time by considering four elements:

(1) The validity of a state decision to separate public school facilities;

(2) the relevant authority in the Constitution;

(3) the proper weight of judicial precedent, and

(4) the obligation of the nation and the states to observe a decision of the Court.

He pointed out that the Supreme Court considered a great deal of evidence before finding that segregation itself constituted a denial by the State

of individual rights to education in our society. Hence the presence or absence of equal facilities was not fundamental, though in fact the "separate but equal" doctrine usually produced "separate but unequal" facilities.

### Violates Amendment

This denial of individual rights, Mr. Kurland noted, violated the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. Hence the cases before the Court did not touch on any involving the 10th Amendment (which reserves to the states those powers not delegated to the federal government).

Mr. Kurland maintained that if the clause involved had been a statutory provision rather than a constitutional amendment, the Court might have been unable to apply it to the schools issue. In the case of a constitutional provision, however, the Court has the duty to give it meaning. In doing so, the Court properly considers the Constitution to be a living document, adaptable to the times.

Judicial precedent, said Mr. Kurland, has its place and should receive atten-

NO BETTER WORDS TO DESCRIBE "BROTHERHOOD"



tion. It should not, however, blind the Court and make it completely inflexible. He also pointed out that *Plessy v. Ferguson* involved transportation, not education, and he quoted Justice Harlan's dissent in that case, "the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision . . . in the *Dred Scott* case."

### Separate is Not Equal

*Gong Lum v. Rice* involved educational facilities only incidentally, according to Mr. Kurland, the main question being classification. Later cases reaching the Supreme Court, like *Sweatt v. Painter*, a 1950 Texas case establishing that a separate Negro law school would not be "equal," prepared the way for the 1954 decision, in Mr. Kurland's view.

He held that the Supreme Court was fully aware of the profound implications of its decision and asked for presentation of extended argument in 1953 before announcing its decision. Then, after delivering a unanimous opinion on May 17, 1954, the Court received further argument regarding methods before it framed its decision on May 31, 1955. Even then it set no specific date for full compliance, relying instead on "full deliberate speed."

Mr. Kurland concluded that the preservation of our system requires adherence to the decree of the Court by all litigants, regardless of disagreement with the decision. Mr. Bloch said that only the four states specifically involved in the cases were immediately affected, and that the decision could hardly be termed the "law of the land." He said Southern states are concerned only with legal steps possible to correct the "legal error."

—J. O. Behrens



*the South*

# Southern Political Leaders State Slightly Different Views

"... For a scant \$7.50 a person can buy, chloroformed and mounted a superb specimen of articulate southern moderation and a somewhat stunted example (compared with Kasper) of racist demagoguery"

**THE CASE OF THE SLEEPING PEOPLE;** by Doctor and Mrs. Dale Alford. Pioneer Press; Little Rock, Arkansas. \$4.00, 231 pp.

**A SOUTHERN MODERATE SPEAKS;** by Brooks Hays; Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press. \$3.50, 231 pp.

LAST NOVEMBER Congressman Brooks Hays was defeated in his campaign for a ninth term representing the people of Little Rock, Arkansas. The victor was a political amateur running as a Democratic write in candidate against the party's nominee. Dr. Dale Alford, ophthalmologist and member of the city's school board, upset his veteran opponent in a campaign that began only eight days before the election. His victory was the city's answer to bearing for months an unresolved and continuously irritating problem—the integration of the city's schools.

The wonder of the printing press is that within a few months of that election the local bookseller is offering a volume by each of the contenders. Present methods of reproduction make possible the endless proliferation of unadulterated dross. They also make available genuinely illuminating material. Thanks to this wonder, for a scant \$7.50 a person can buy, chloroformed and mounted, a superb specimen of articulate southern moderation and a somewhat stunted example (compared with Kasper) of racist demagoguery. Alford is stunted by scruple. His wife claims that he gives better treatment to his Negro patients than to his white. I wonder how many near-sighted Little Rockers will catch that.

## A Bridge

Brooks Hays, the defeated moderate, has provided far the more valuable book. His is a history of events to which he was uniquely privy, and an apology for his own role in them. He saw himself as a bridge between northern liberals and the South on matters of race and state's rights. In 1952 he played a key part in the development of the Democratic party's Civil Rights planks. His work undoubtedly helped prevent repetition of the party split he witnessed in 1948. Just before removal from office he played his most taxing

role as go-between when he negotiated the Newport meeting of Faubus and Eisenhower. There a last and vain attempt was made to prevent a complete break between the state and the federal government over the school segregation issue. Between these major events Hays continuously tried to facilitate the development of federal and party policies on race which would be acceptable to both the North and the South. His defeat was a loss not only to Little Rock but to the nation.

Hays' book describes these events in detail and communicates the excitement of being an interested participant. In doing so the book exposes the process by which the country is governed. Perhaps our most important decisions are made in the blank spaces where organizational charts show no lines of communication or command. Hays was a maker of webs in such uncharted areas and his book shows how this is done.

## Greatest Value

Perhaps the greatest value of this book lies in the exposition of Hays' beliefs, for he represents that segment of the South with which Negroes and northern liberals can most successfully deal. Regarding education he believes: (1) Negro students should not have to leave their neighborhoods to attend school if there is an all-white school nearby; (2) Negroes who qualify for special courses not available in Negro schools should be admitted to white schools where such specialization is obtainable; (3) Where Negro schools have lower academic standards than nearby white schools, exceptional Negro students should be admitted to white schools.

It may not be possible to accept these principles as the ultimate solution to school segregation but they do provide a beginning. They also clearly indicate Hays' recognition of the injustice of the present system. One can see how they might be strongly defended by Hays when presented to a Southern colleague.

The most appealing part of Hays' position is his insistence on states rights. With Hays this is not an attempt to gain immunity from the dictates of the whole nation's conscience, but really an assertion of local responsibility. He

does not only say, "Hands off," to the federal government but recommends to localities that they act with sufficient responsibility to justify non-interference. His attitude has appeal because there is no doubt that many issues can be handled better locally and that local action is more conducive to effective political participation.

His most challenging idea is that legislation can not successfully go beyond the sentiments of the people. This idea is the reverse of that held by C. Wright Mills. When we are being pounded by the idea of the power elite it is healthy to have someone saying just as loudly that leaders are responsive to their people. Unfortunately this is one issue on which Hays is not moderate. The truth lies somewhere in between. Although the people of Little Rock would almost certainly have voted for segregation when the city's integration plan was first introduced, there are many indications to suggest that they would not have resisted had Governor Faubus kept his hands off. Balancing the public's opposition to integration was a natural desire for peace in the community. In a situation of conflicting pressures leadership can determine the actual course of public action.

## Radical Leadership

Brooks Hays' successor, Dr. Dale Alford, will provide the radical leadership which will make progress on the

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race issue virtually impossible. The title of his book, *The Case of the Sleeping People*, suggests that people of Little Rock at one time were open to what we would view as improvement in the race situation. Through his efforts the people have been awakened to the fact that moderation means integration.

Actually Alford's book was probably written largely by his wife. At least it is told by her. Further, it is illustrated with cartoons by their fifteen year old son, Dale, Jr. It would be better if he studied ophthalmology. It would also have been better if Mrs. Alford left the writing to someone else.

The prose and the logic are both impossible, for example: "Dr. Alford's position all along was one of that of the patriot." Despite such crudities, the book is important for what it exposes. Alford obviously finds a following in the South and is, furthermore, a very effective mass leader. His peculiar brand of irrationality has a charm for people seeking a simple resolution to problems that confound them. He manages to sound as if he knows more than he does. Alford appears able to cut across all the details that kept Hays occupied.

"Today is the time for positive and decisive action if we are able to close the floodgates of Red infiltration into every phase of our national life, as the enemy is cunning enough to wave the red flag of despair abroad destroying our basic freedoms in our schools and local institutions by accomplishing their sinister ends through piece-meal



• Brooks Hays

methods." This is from one of his campaign addresses—three of them are reprinted in whole. Here is no dupe. Here is a man who knows what is at stake. His appeal is to the mass mind seeking a simple faith and a simple, revolutionary solution to complex problems.

## Compared With King

An interesting and useful intellectual exercise would be to read this book and *Stride Toward Freedom* in the light of Eric Hoffer's book *The True Believer*. We would agree that King's leadership is salutary while Alford's is not. None the less, both have characteristics in common. Those are the characteristics of the popular leader.

Both King and Alford exhibit their personal insecurity by asserting how cultured they are. Personal insecurity is a characteristic of those who join and those who lead mass movements. Both King and Alford had communities where insecurity was undoubtedly quite common, for obvious reasons. Each offered a faith that gives life new meaning. While King's faith was peaceful, the Dale Alford's crusade indicates the dangers inherent in popular democracy's approach to solving society's problems.

Another interesting point in common is that both Alford and King attributed their ability to move audiences by oratory to a higher power. One is reminded that in World War I every German soldier wore a belt buckle inscribed "Gott mit uns," (God is with us). Perhaps there was something shared by both leader and follower which would explain the leader's appeal. Surely God is not on both sides. The question seems worth investigating.

Before the Little Rock crisis Arkansas was a fairly liberal state on racial issues. Governor Faubus was known as a moderate. Under the pressure of radicals such as Alford, Faubus was pushed to an extreme position. Hays' influence waned. At a point toward the end of his book, Hays says:

"While, as I have said, truth is sometimes partisan and even relentlessly immoderate, still the moderates are indispensable in the long and continuous struggle for race harmony. Analogies to the Civil War are not always accurate. However, we can see a little better, after the clash of opinion and feeling today, how Lincoln and Lee were driven away from the middle ground. The extremists on both sides denied the people the only alternative to violence."

The relevance of this point is clearly indicated in the two books at hand.

—Warren Lehman



• Mrs. Dale Alford and Congressman Alford



## BOOK REVIEW

# THE MASS-Rich, Abundant

THE MASS, by the Community of Saint Severin, 155 pages. (Fides Publishers, Chicago 19, Illinois, \$3.25)

THIS BOOK will be read, and justly appreciated, by a small, select number of American Catholics. Those energetic few who are so strongly working for a wider participation in the liturgy by all the faithful will profit greatly by this excellent addition to the growing list of studies of the Mass by the French clergy.

Unfortunately it will not be read by that much larger number of American Catholics whose understanding of the Mass is so limited. Unfortunately it will not be read by those Catholics in Louisiana who refused to attend Mass celebrated by a Negro priest. Unfortunately it will not be read by those members of the Catholic Church near Trumbull Park in Chicago who assaulted Negroes on the very steps of their Church a few minutes after they had attended Mass.

### The Mass and Charity

It is interesting to speculate about what the reaction of those particular Catholics might be if they were to read and understand such passages as these:

"There is . . . no Mass without communion, but no communion without fraternal charity. Our communion would be pure hypocrisy if it were not followed by the practical application of fraternal love. Charity before and after, so that Eucharistic charity may not be a lie, and so that the new commandment, promulgated during the first and most august of Masses, should not be in vain" (page 64).

"The end of the Cross, and therefore of the Mass, is the communion, unity: 'Thou are in Me' said Jesus to His Father, 'and I in them. That they should be all one' (John 17, 23). That which our Mass has efficaciously but only fleetingly realized, this assembly of men, without distinction of race, class, culture, age, sex, this people, unanimous in their actions, hymns and heart, must now be expressed in the reality of our life. And only our efforts toward love and fraternal communion will tell if our gift at Mass was sincere" (page 73).

"If thou are bringing thy gift, then, before the altar, and rememberest there that thy brother has some ground of complaint against thee, leave thy gift lying there before the altar, and go home; be reconciled with thy brother first, and then come back to offer thy gift" (Matt. 5, 23). The Church always assumes, seeing us come to Mass, that we have fulfilled this command of Christ. Otherwise the Mass would be for us a source of condemnation: 'He is eating and drinking damnation to himself if he eats and drinks unworthily, not recognizing the Lord's body for what it is' (1 Cor. 11, 29). We are unworthy to take part in this fraternal meal if our hearts are not open to all our brothers" (pages 61-62).

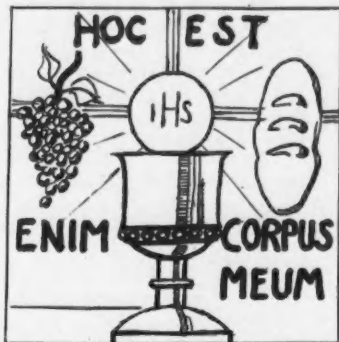
### Based on Experience

This book, which appeared in the French in 1954, was written by a team of priests which was appointed in 1948 by the late Cardinal Suhard to revivify the parish of St. Severin in the heart of the Latin Quarter.

They have drawn from this experience to write this commentary on the Mass and its various stages. They also explore certain particular aspects, such as the meaning of the Amen of the Mass, the Sacred Signs, and the Candle of the Mass, which are not usually given much attention. (Here they even de-

*Spiritual*

vote a chapter to the question of whether the collection should be abolished.) And finally they explain the changes in ceremonial practice in the celebration of the Mass that they have made in their parish.



It is a short, easily read volume which offers abundant insight into the great spiritual and theological riches of the Mass. And there is something in it for all Catholics, no matter how superficial or how deep their present understanding may be. Consequently, I hope it will be made available in a cheap, paper cover edition and sold in our Churches.

—James E. Burns

## '57 '58 Bombings Should Mean New Congressional Legislation

DURING 1957 and 1958, the nation was shocked by a series of bombings and attempted bombings of integrated schools and Jewish places of worship. The fact that only a very few arrests have been made in connection with these outrages has prompted substantial support for legislation that would give the Federal government power and a clear mandate to assist local officials in apprehending the culprits.

Both the Johnson (S.499) and McCulloch (H.R. 4457) bills have provisions on this subject. Title IV of the Johnson bill would make it a Federal crime to transport explosives in interstate commerce (or to possess any explosives so transported) with the knowledge or intent that they will be used to damage any property "for the purpose of interfering with its use for business, educational, religious, charitable, or civic objectives." Title II of the McCulloch bill would make it a Federal crime to travel across state lines in order to avoid prosecution for violating state laws against damaging property if the property was used "primarily for religious purposes or for the purposes of . . . education."

### Other Bills

In addition, a large number of separate bills dealing with bombing have been introduced in both the House and Senate, only a few of which can be referred to here. The Celler bill (H.R. 15) would make it a Federal crime to transport explosives in interstate commerce, or to possess explosives that have been so transported, with knowledge that they are to be used "to damage or destroy any building for the purpose of interfering with its use for educational, religious, charitable, or civic objectives." The corresponding provisions of the Roosevelt and Loser bills (H.R. 2538 and H.R. 3026) would also apply to property used for "business" purposes. (These bills are companions to S. 188, introduced by Senator Kennedy on behalf of himself and 33 other Senators.) The Bolton bill (H.R. 2242) would apply also to property used for "residential" purposes. (This is a companion to S. 73, introduced by Senator Keating on behalf of himself and 14

## Integration At Negro Colleges

(Continued from page one)

the Negro faculty left, depending on the situation. Illustrative of attitudes, a noted and widely-traveled administrator once told Dr. Meier that "Negro colleges were justified because Negroes who attend white colleges failed to develop a realistic view of the world and consequently, he alleged, displayed a remarkable tendency toward suicide."

There were a variety of reasons for the correlation of social and racial lines. At the same time, there were striking exceptions to this generalization. Part of the situation was a carry-over from the early missionary traditions. Then, too, a significant group among the Negro faculty were upper class Negroes with upper class attitudes, whereas the white faculty was a definitely middle class group. There was a cleavage of interest too between most of the Negroes and the group of intellectual and liberal whites.

### Illustrated Experience

This dissimilarity of interest is illustrated in one of Dr. Meier's experiences. After a panel discussion at a state college, a faculty wife asked Dr. Meier if he played bridge. When he said "No,"

she pursued the subject no more. There was no racial line here—he just wasn't available for card-playing society.

Only recently have Negro state schools begun to get white faculty members. There is no long tradition of mixed faculties, and white professors are definitely in the minority. The handful of white faculty members where Dr. Meier now teaches all appear to have come simply for a job. Yet social relationships off campus are most limited, even though the administrative policy is for integration and there are both Negro and white students. An article on integration by one of the professors is somewhat indicative of attitudes. Citing certain advantages to be gained from segregated schools, he concluded that the advantages of integration outweighed those of segregation.

Throughout Dr. Meier's report, the intense consciousness of race, even when there is no hostility, is obvious. It remains, long after there are relatively deep social relationships. Because our society embeds into each of us, white and Negro, deep feelings and resentments, these sensitivities rear their ugly heads, even in those "islands" where one could hope for the highest type of harmony and cooperation.

Not having an exact experience of my own on which to judge Dr. Meier's conclusions, I discussed the article with a colleague of mine who attended a southern Negro college and was later on its faculty. Her comment was "it was like looking into a mirror." She agreed heartily with the author's final note, "to the extent that there are people who accept individuals without regard to race and who share mutual values and interests, the correlations between race and social clique disappear." "You know," she commented, "white people weren't a reality to me until I started teaching college. My life was completely segregated, and they were just an 'invisible' quantity."

Betty Schneider

case when it would intervene, which power it now has for all practical purposes. The Administration bill is the weakest on this point, since it would apply only when a person has fled across state lines. FBI investigations would be confined to determining whether there has been such a flight. This would keep Federal participation in the investigation of bombings to a minimum.

### Would Ban Threats

The Johnson bill and most of the other bills also contain a provision that would make it illegal to use the mails, telephone or other instrumentalities of interstate commerce to disseminate false information concerning bombing attempts. Such a provision would deter the vicious practice of disrupting the use of buildings by making anonymous telephone calls.

Finally, the Johnson bill contains a useful provision, not contained in other bills, that would permit the FBI to assist legal officials in the investigations of any bombing, without regard to interstate transportation or the nature of the building, upon the request of the Governor of the state or the Mayor or other chief official of the place where the bombing occurred.

We urge the House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary to approve the anti-bombing provisions of the Bolton-Keating bill, with the addition of the last described provision of the Johnson bill.

—Will Maslow

This is part of a statement given in behalf of the American Jewish Congress on pending civil rights bills to Subcommittee No. Five of the House Judiciary Committee. It is reprinted with the permission of the A.J.C.



# Odysey in Black and White

IT STARTED at Father Price's Orphanage at Nazareth, North Carolina just outside Raleigh. The orphans, including my two youngest children, moved over a little to make room for those taking the catechetical course. Raleigh might be full of "separate but equal" segregated places but Nazareth was an oasis of freedom where, without any fanfare, human beings could be people in peace whatever color they happened to be.

That same freedom pervaded the Orientation Course for the Seminarians at Pinehurst, North Carolina where "white" and "colored" boys, studying to be North Carolina priests in scattered seminaries outside the state, gathered together to meet and mingle with North Carolinians and become acquainted with the state in which they would serve. The impact of so many zealous young men concentrated in one place is similar to what happens to a run down battery when it is taken to a service station to be recharged. That course seemed to come to an end much too soon and I was escorted to the train for Philadelphia.

My accommodations turned out to be a compartment. I had traveled by compartment in Europe years ago but was so occupied with the antics of a vigorous infant that I hardly noticed whether I was in a compartment, the caboose of a freight train, or collapsing on the hump of a camel.

## Chromium "Cell"

Now I was alone and impressed by the stark emptiness of my chromium "cell" with not another living thing in it anywhere, not even a miniature cactus crouching in a corner or a melancholy mosquito moping along the metallic ceiling . . . From all things living I was completely segregated in body—but not in mind and heart.

A chromium compartment is utterly powerless to segregate the Christian mind and heart, against its will, from anybody. Also powerless to segregate the Christian mind and heart are all segregation laws, customs, practices and accidents of every kind no matter how inflexible, how crushing or how long they last. A Christian heart is always privileged to ask for grace from God at any time to hold fast the bond of charity towards any offending person, no matter what that person says or does or fails to do. As long as the Christian heart and will remain at the pierced feet of Our Lord, and keep asking for the grace of charity and praying for the one who seems to be unfriendly, this "enemy," and all the devils of hell and irascible southern politicians put together, are utterly powerless to achieve any real and lasting segregation.

Darkness outside my window began to erode. In the dim distance the dome of the Capitol Building in Washington brooded like a ghostly White Rock setting hen with wings rounded way out over many eggs—with liberty and justice for every egg that hatches into citizenship, be it White Leghorn, Buff Orpington, Plymouth Rock, Rhode Island Red or Jersey Giant . . . or at least that is why the founding fathers ever made a nest for her, and their sons died in battle to protect that nest. All my life I had heard almost nothing but sarcastic quips about Washington and its "inmates," but now my heart leaped up when I beheld its buildings passing by my window. The quips failed to come to my mind.

## At Grail Center

Soon after arriving at the Institute offered by the Grail Girls of Philadelphia, one of the young women informed me that someone wanted to meet me very much.

"Where is she?" I asked.

"Right this way," answered the young woman. I followed her to a large porch where a group of young women were gathered together some distance away. In the foreground stood a lovely "colored" girl waiting. All the other girls seemed to be keeping back at a distance and watching but I thought little of the situation at the time. I was too pleased that we were in another oasis of freedom, where a "white" person could meet a "colored" person directly as a human being and enjoy a visit, to notice anything else. This young lady was a school teacher and we had many things to talk about.

## Surprised Girls

Later on I heard that several of the girls were very much surprised. They had always thought that no southern "white" woman would ever "meet" and "converse with" any "colored" woman and had arranged the meeting as a test. The only other segregation specter that appeared in our midst was the vivid and inimitable description that His Excellency, the Most Reverend Raymond A. Lane, M.M., D.D., Superior General of Maryknoll, gave of his personal segregation in a Communist concentration camp.

After the Institute there was time for a brief visit with the Grail Girls at their home in Philadelphia and to the Secular Institute at Fatima House before leaving Washington. Behind me was a Catechetical Course with Sisters,



and Orientation Course with Seminarians, the Grail Movement and Institute, a Secular Institute, and now I was in a Workshop in Inter-Group Education surrounded by a campus flowing with 85 different orders of Sisters and I never did find out how many orders of Priests and Brothers—all "colored" and very many nationalities!

The Workshop was composed of a limited assortment of people, mostly members and representatives of urban groups in the neighborhood of Washington, but even so there was variety aplenty for interesting and constructive work. There were more "colored" students than "white." All seemed to be men and women of good will.

## Intercultural Exchange

Where members of various groups gather together for the first time in the same physical space there is always an intercultural exchange. This is true even if the people gather together for battle, such as the Crusaders of the Middle Ages. This can be even more true when modern civilized men and women gather together in a spirit of good will for the special purpose of understanding each other's groups.

The mere gathering together of peoples will force more awareness of each other. But this will not necessarily, of its own accord, always be accomplished peacefully or lead to the most constructive results unaided and undirected. Even a "mechanical" group needs to be kept clean, oiled, refueled from time to time and "driven" in a constructive direction by responsible leadership.

And the "organic" groups that rear up like wild horses from time to time, even out of modern civilized people gathered together, are potential "nightmares" that require considerably more enlightenment, experience and stamina to direct constructively than a facility for thumbing through Robert's Rules of Order. Hence the need for workshops in inter-group education, especially in our day and age where individual people in the urban centers have been becoming more and more atomized, but the transportation and communication facilities have been co-agulating our planet into a one-world mass to live in.

## Corporate Living

Whether we like it or not, we live a corporate existence with other people, all kinds of people. We may try like the proverbial ostrich to hide our heads in little sandpiles of "age old segregation customs," "separate but equal" racial facilities, and "ghettos" but only our brains remain hidden from the world at large.

The workshop was more than an oasis of freedom where "white" and "colored" could be people in peace. It was a dissecting room where the ele-

ments of that peace and freedom could be examined, a laboratory where they could be put back together and observed in action, and an experience in adapting our living habits to the new learning. For instance, I could readily understand how minstrel shows and certain radio comedians could be a source of pain and shame rather than entertainment to "colored" people. But never would I have dreamed that the lovely southern melodies, so easy for voices to flow into and so readily adaptable to spontaneous group harmony and novel arrangements, were very obnoxious to my "colored" brothers and sisters . . . I had always been concerned with the arrangement or harmony of the melody and the words had been mere devices to carry the tones, not supposed to make any sense.

We can hardly go to the doctor without exposing our own weakness and that of our family. We can hardly go to a workshop in intergroup education without exposing the weakness of our groups and communities. This is fine if all present are men and women of good will who will use their knowledge for quiet healing.

—Dorothy Abernathy

## LETTER TO SUBSCRIBERS

Dear Subscribers and Friends,

Your replies to our recent appeal letter for new subscriptions have taken us by storm, and are giving us real cause to shout "hurrah,"—and "Thanks"! To date we have received \$634.00. One-third of this is for gift subscriptions, one-third is for renewals, and one-third is donations. How encouraging! We had set a goal of \$1,000 for this drive, and because of the generosity and good-will shown so far by you who have sent in your subscriptions, and having great hopes in those of you who will be sending yours in, there is a good possibility that we'll make it.

Just talking of it now, brings to mind many new thoughts of gratitude to you, our friends, who have pitched in so wonderfully. We want to see our family of readers grow, and are pleased knowing that so many of you feel this way too.

I was enthused about my job in the circulation department before, and have becomes even more so since this drive is in full swing, knowing that so many of you share our sentiments about **COMMUNITY** and are working hard at spreading its contacts. It really is fun seeing so many people on the band wagon.

Thanks to all of you whom we've heard from already, and to you who are about to help us in our drive for new readers.

We will let you know the results of this drive next month.

Gratefully in Christ,  
Dorothy Besal  
Circulation Manager

P.S.: Also, welcome to all whose who now are receiving **COMMUNITY** for the first time.

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